

AN
Expostulatory ADDRESS
TO THE
NOBILITY and FREEHOLDERS
OF
SCOTLAND.

[Price One Shilling.]

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[Price One Shilling]

A N
Expostulatory ADDRESS
TO THE BIRTH
N O B I L I T Y
A N D
F R E E H O L D E R S
O F
S C O T L A N D. *K*
S H E W I N G

The monstrous *Folly* as well as *Ingratitude* of
the present Unnatural Rebellion, and the
Intended Diffolution of the Union, by
Arguments drawn from the antient Consti-
tution and present Situation of that King-
dom.

By a GENTLEMAN of that Country,

Et tu quoque me Filii.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. COLLYER, at *Shakespear's Head*, in
Ludgate-street. 1745,

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degenerate, as to be Dear to the Danger
of their holy Religion, to be in Love with

SCOTLAND.

an Enemy to their Religion; bred up in
the Principles of arbitrary Power, and the

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Eyes of all Europe are now
fixed upon you; every honest Man
in Britain, who has any Value for
Religion and Civil Liberty, is amazed to
find the ancient Spirit of Scotland so far sunk,

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as that you allow yourselves tamely to submit to a handful of Rebels, headed by Men of low and desperate Fortunes. Men who are themselves Strangers to Liberty, and the glorious Advantages flowing from it; who have nothing to risk but their abject Lives, and have no other Motive to their rash Undertaking, but the Hopes of growing Rich, with the Spoils of their native Country.

That Nation has been remarkable for the noble Stand they have made for many Centuries past, against the Attempts of Foreign Enemies, and the lawless Encroachments of their own Princes. Where then is that Spirit now? can *Scotchmen* be so far degenerate, as to be Deaf to the Danger of their holy Religion, to be in Love with Slavery, and to court Subjection to a Prince, an Enemy to their Religion; bred up in the Principles of arbitrary Power, and the Offspring of a House, whose whole History, is almost one continued Act of Tyranny and Oppression?

I am far from imagining, that the Generality

ality of my Countrymen, are tainted with the Principles of the present Rebellion — its impossible ; but they appear to be seized, either with an unnatural Panick, or are sunk into a deep Lethargy from whence they may be awaked but too late. The Dye of their Destiny is now thrown ; they are upon the Brink of a Precipice, and the Danger so nigh at hand, that if they don't resolve quickly to rouse up, and exert their utmost Zeal, the Misfortune may become irretrievable.

The Calamities of a Civil War, are too apparent to require any Description : every Man's own Imagination will suggest to him, the Miseries of a Country in such an unhappy Situation ; and if he has the least Share of Humanity, or the smallest Tincture of Love for the Common-weal, he must be fired with the utmost Indignation, against the first Projectors of the present Rebellion : A Rebellion, which has not one single Circumstance to palliate the monstrousness of the Crime ; fomented against the best of

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Princes,

Princes, and by a People who enjoy all the Blessings of Peace, Plenty, and Liberty, whilst all other Kingdoms about them are engaged in War, and have almost forgot when they were free.

But in Order to expose the Folly, the egregious Madness of this Undertaking, let us inquire, into all the possible Motives, that might induce the Rebels to take up Arms, or any Part of the Country to submit to them.—— Since I cannot suppose, so many Men acted from Caprice, and without flattering themselves with some specious Pretext for what they have done.

The first Motive, that naturally occurs on this Occasion, is a supposed Affection for the House of *Steuart*: but we must suppose this Affection founded upon rational Principles: as its impossible for any Man to imagine, that our Loyalty to that House, or indeed to any other House, is founded upon the mere Distinction of their Name. It can have no other Foundation in Nature but this, that

that we suppose, that under that House, our Country would be happier than under any other. The public Good, our Liberty, is the first and only rational Motive to Loyalty; and whatever Affection we pretend to express to any Prince, however distinguished, abstracted from this grand Consideration, is a kind of Enthusiasm in Politics, and can never be an Inducement to any noble and generous Undertaking,

Let us consider then, what Inducement those unhappy Gentlemen who have now distinguish'd themselves, in Behalf of that once Royal House, have to believe, that their Native Country would enjoy a larger Share of Liberty, under a Prince of that Family, than under his present Majesty. Do they draw this Conclusion from the Temper and Disposition of the Pretender's Predecessors? its impossible, since the History of that House from their first Accession down to the Revolution, is but one continued Struggle between the Prince and People; the one for Liberty, and the other for Arbitrary Power.

Their

Their Impatience under all constitutional Restraints, their frequent Encroachments upon the Power of Parliament, and the Tyrannical Use they made of that Prerogative, which they extorted from the People by Fraud or Violence; are so frequently to be met with in *Scotch History*, that it seems a Kind of judicial Infatuation, that any of that People should retain the least Regard for any Person, immediately sprung from such a Race.

Were we to take a Review of their several Reigns, there is scarce a Man of them to be met with, that did not seem an Enemy to his Country. If they were not wicked, they were certainly weak, and all of them made such Encroachments upon the ancient Constitution, that when you banish'd them, they had swallow'd up the very Name of Liberty in their boundless Prerogative.

Not to go farther back than *James the First*; a Prince for whose Sake you had banish'd his own Mother; one whom you had
bred

bred up amongst yourselves, and tutor'd in the Principles of your own Religion : yet how did he behave to his Native Kingdom ? He was no sooner possess'd of *England*, than the best Use he made of this new Acquisition of Power and Riches, was to bribe and bully you out of every Law that laid any Restraint upon his lawless Itch of despotic Sway ; and when you had complimented him, with more Prerogative than all his more deserving Predecessors ever enjoy'd, and given him an almost absolute Power over your Persons ; he took upon him to dictate to your Consciences, to change that Religion in which he had been educated, and which had been establish'd at the Expence of his Mother's Life and Crown.

His Son *Charles*, a Prince of a much more amiable Disposition than his Father, had nevertheless imbib'd all his Notions of Arbitrary Government, which he endeavour'd in Practice, first on you ; and by the Advice of that haughty Prelate *Laud*, would have taught you, to worship God

more

more decently, and attempted to cram down
 your Throats, by his own Authority, a
 new Liturgy and Book of Canons, which
 was indeed the Prelude, to the fatal Cata-
 strophe which attended that unhappy Prince,
 possess'd perhaps of more innate Virtue than
 any other Sovereign of his House, yll'd his
 Resistance upon his Jewel Rich of his
 The Usurpation gave you an Opportu-
 nity to see, how Adversity would teach the
Stewarts Wisdom. But how were you de-
 ceived in *Charles* the Second, for whom
 you had suffer'd so much; during that
 Period You risk'd your Lives and Fortunes;
 in his Behalf, he was at last restored; your
 Joy was beyond Bounds, but his Gratitude
 past finding out; he squander'd away your
 Treasure amongst his greedy and profligate
 Courtiers; he and they were never weary'd
 of receiving, while you had any thing, ei-
 ther Money or Prerogative to give; and
 when that was gone, he robbed you of your
 Religion, and established your old Enemies
 the *Bishops*; tho' his Father lost his Head;
 and he himself was banish'd but for at-
 tempting

tempting it. The violent and lawless Attempts upon Men's Persons and private Property, and the tyrannical and arbitrary Behaviour of that Inquisition like Court the Privy-council in the latter end of that Reign are too recent in Mens Memories to need a Description, and the terrible Impressions they must make upon the Minds of every Man who has not Sentiments fit for the Gallies, can never be craz'd by the greatest Length of Time.

The Ingratitude of that Prince for the most sensible Benefits, is perhaps without Example in History. Every Man the least conversant with the Transactions of that Time, must know that Numbers of great Families, who had spent their best Blood and their Estates to serve his Interest while in Exile, met with no other Reward upon his Restoration but neglect; and were allow'd to spend the Remainder of their Lives in wretched Poverty; while his worthless Courtiers, wallow'd in Riches and Luxury. Amongst many Instances, the Treatment of the Family

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mily of *Argyle*, is a pregnant Instance of the ungrateful as well as vindictive Spirit of that House. The great *Archibald*, Earl of *Argyle* risk'd his Life and Fortune and remained a stedfast Friend amidst all the Troubles and different Fortunes of the Family, during their Distress and Exile, yet how was he rewarded? The Merits of the Son, could not save the Father's Life, nor the well-merited Honours of his House; but he had the Mortification to see that the Effects of his Loyalty was the Death of the Marquis his Father, and the Forfeiture of his Estate, given up to satisfy the Blood-thirsty Revenge of that venal Court. He remained three Years in the Kingdom before he could obtain his paternal Estate, and found the highest Title of his Family was never to be restored; and in the latter End of that Reign he found himself condemned to lose his Life, Estate and Honour by the Sentence of a pension'd Parliament, for opposing those Measures, that were pursued by a venal Ministry to introduce Popery and arbitrary Power. But to enumerate Instances of
their

their Ingratitude, would be endless; they had adapted as a Maxim of Government, that to serve their Loyal Friends was impolitick, since these would be their Friends in spite of Ingratitude and Ill-usage, and they thought it Wisdom to make Friends of their old Enemies.

The *Scotch* Nation, had gone all the Lengths that it was possible for Men to do, to ingratiate themselves with *James* the Second; they recogniz'd his Title notwithstanding the Objection of his Religion, at a Time when his Subjects of *England*, were busied in Bills of Exclusion. But how were ye rewarded? How soon did he forget his Obligations and endeavour to reign over you without Law, and make Havock of your most sacred Liberties, both Religious and Civil, till you found the Yoke of his Oppression so heavy, that you were obliged to banish him your Kingdom, and cancel his Title to the Crown.

If these are Historical Facts, which few can be supposed ignorant of, and none

can either palliate or contravert, upon what rational Foundation, can you build your mistaken Loyalty to the Representative of that House? Is there a Period of Time, when you can say, that you enjoy'd the full Liberty of your Constitution under them, or one Reign, wherein you were compleatly Free from Oppression; except when you had your Swords in your Hands, in Defence of your Liberty, which they were always ready to snatch from you?

Can he forget the Manners of his House, or loose the vindicative Spirit of his Name? On the contrary, all the Knowledge you have of him, must convince you, that he has improved upon their Maxims, and refined upon their Notions of Arbitrary Power. In his Intellects, he is weaker than the weakest of them, and in his Religion more a Bigot.

He has not even attempted to dissemble with you; since 'tis well known, that when he was in *Scotland*, in the last mad Rebellion, he had not Policy enough, or Com-

Complaissance for the many noble Families who join'd in his mad Enterprize, to relinquish one Tittle of his Regard for Popery, or shew the smallest Decency towards his Protestant Clergy. All the Endeavours of his Friends, could not persuade him to make Use of any of them in the Worship of his Family. If then he shew'd a tenacious Regard for these Tenets, at a Time when he was attempting to possess himself of the Crown by the Means of his Protestant Subjects; how is it possible for us to suppose, that he would alter his Conduct when in full Possession of his Wishes; and 'tis well known that when he resided at *St. Ger- mains*, he absolutely refused the Protestant Gentlemen, who fled with him, the Use of a Chapel for their Worship; tho' that was a Courtesy, the King of *France* would never have quarrell'd with, The Treatment many of them met with there, and the little Care he took of those unhappy Gentlemen, who had become Beggars on his Account, ought to have taught

taught the present Gentry more Wisdom than to risk their Lives and Estates, on so precarious a Foundation.

From these Considerations I conclude, that an Affection for the House of *Stewart* solely, could never be the Motive that induced the Leaders of the present Rebellion, to involve their Country in the dreadful Calamity of a Civil War, and expose their innocent Followers and Dependants to certain Ruin and Destruction.

What then is the next Motive we can suppose to this rash Enterprize. Shall we inquire if it is possible that the Injustice of the *Revolution* could have any Weight in determining them to these Measures.

Upon that Supposition, the *Revolution* either must be a Measure contrary to the Constitution of the Kingdom, and the States must be supposed to have no Power to act in that Matter as they did; or they must

must have proceeded upon false or unjust Premises.

As to the last, I think it impossible for any Man in his Senses, to advance such a Doctrine. The whole Nation was justly sensible that King *James*, was using all the Measures in his Power, and that openly and without reserve, to establish Popery and its constant Attendant arbitrary Power. The Plot was begun towards the Close of the preceeding Reign, when that venal Parliament had passed several Acts introductory to that Event; and amongst the rest, that famously infamous Act the Test: and when King *James* came to the Throne, the Oppressions the Subjects met with for their Adherence to the Religion of the Church of *Scotland* was a strong Indication of the Chains that were forging for them, both in their Civil and Religious Capacity. The Oppression was become so high, that Men of all kinds felt the horrid Weight, and none but blind Men could not, or would not see the Consequences,

'till

'till at last, by an unanimous Call of the People, the Prince of *Orange* came to their Delivery, and the States of the Kingdom with an Unanimity uncommon to Assemblies of that Kind, and unawed by Force or Violence of any Kind, but what flow'd from a Sense of their Wrongs, voted, that King *James*, by his Tyranny had violated his Coronation Oath, and forfeited his Title to the Crown.

His greatest Friends, either within or without Doors, even the Instruments of his Tyranny, could not palliate the Crimes which induced the States to come to that Resolution; and till this Day, I never heard any Man, either in publick or private, contravert the Facts, upon which that Sentence was founded; the *Scotch* Nation in general were so satisfied of his Male Administration, that the States acted openly in the Matter; used no Subterfuge to give any false Colour to their acting; but rested upon the Truth of the Facts, proceeded to a formal Sentence of Depreciation,

vation, not founded on a Supposition of Abdication as in *England* ; but on the Principles of the Constitution of the Kingdom, which gave them Power to judge of his Capacity to govern.

From whence I shall conclude, that the Premises upon which that Convention went were true ; and I think I shall easily make it appear, that the Power they assumed at that Time, was purely Constitutional, and no new Usurpation upon the Crown.

The Constitution of *Scotland* was indeed Monarchial ; but a Monarchy, the most restrain'd perhaps that ever was in *Europe*. *Parliaments* and *Conventions* had anciently a Power of calling and adjourning themselves without waiting the Consent of the King ; they had the Power of naming most of the Great Officers of State, and even Privy-Counsellors, who were all sworn in Parliament, and took Oaths of Fidelity to the State, as well as to the

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King :

King: This Power they exerted so late as the Reign of *James* the VIth and his Mother Queen *Mary*, and these very Privileges were confirmed by several Acts in King *Charles* the First's Reign. The Parliament was the supream Court of Judicature; the Lords of Session being a Committee of their Number, named by themselves, as well as the other Judges of the Kingdom. They claimed it as a Privilege, enjoy'd time out of Mind, to call their Kings to Account for Male-Administration, of which there are several Instances; particularly the Case of *Culen* the 79th King of *Scotland*, and *James* the Third, both of whom they deposed for Tyranny; and the Case of Queen *Mary* Mother of *James* the Sixth, is a recent Example of their Exercise of that Power; and unless that Power is supposed, *James* the First and all his Descendants, are Usurpers in every Sense of the Word.

They had likewise a Power, of Levy-
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ing War against the King, when he acted contrary to the ancient Constitution of the Kingdom ; to which even their Kings, and particularly a King of the House of *Stewart*, has given his Consent, *viz.* *James* the Second, who in an Act of his Declaratory of Treason, expressly excepts levying War against the King with Consent of the Estates, from the Number of those Crimes, which are therein enumerated as *Treason*.

From this short Abstract of your Constitution, supported by the Authority of your Records, your best Historians, and Law Books ; can any Man in his Senses deny the Legality of that Power, which the Convention of the Estates in Eighty-eight assumed ? Does it not appear consistent with your Constitution, both in Theory and Practice ?

○ Is it possible that your Notions of Hereditary Right, can help you out with any Arguments to evade the Force of these

plain Matters of Fact? These are Arguments *ad Hominem* to the *Scotch*, and they must conclude them just; otherwise they must acknowledge, that their whole History is but one continued Act of Rebellion against Hereditary Right. The Chain of their Succession, they will find so often broke in upon, by their rebellious Forefathers, that it would be as easy for them to trace their own, and the *Pretender's* Descent up to *Adam*, as to give him any Title to their Crown, upon the Footing of Indefeasible Hereditary Right.

These Arguments must still have greater Weight when we add to them; that the Event we are now treating of, is founded upon the Law of Nature, the *First and Grand Law of Society*, *Salus Populi suprema Lex est*. 'Tis impossible for any Man to have any Notion of Society, or indeed of Natural Reason, who will not admit, that the Interest of Individuals must yield to that of the whole Community: Is it not upon this Principle, that all Laws
what-

whatever build their Foundation? without it, we must suppose ourselves in a State of Nature, without Laws, without Punishments, or without Property; every Man a Slave to his Passions, and an Enemy to his Fellow-Creatures. Is there any innate Prerogative then in that Thing call'd a King, that must put him above the Laws of Society, Nature, and Humanity, and give him a Right to make Millions of his Species as nobly born as he, miserable, purely to gratify his wanton Caprice, or wicked Ambition?

Thus then it appears, that the Revolution was brought about in *Scotland* by the unanimous Voice of the People, and was founded upon Facts uncontestably true in themselves, and that the Convention, acted in that Case consistent with the Constitution of the *Scotch* Monarchy; and exerted no Power, but what was justified by the Laws of the Land, correspondent with the Notions which all civiliz'd Nations have entertained of the eternal Principles of Right

Right and Wrong, from whence we may conclude, that the Injustice of the Revolution, could never be any Motive for the present Rebellion.

But let us go a Step further, and suppose that some flatter themselves with this Pretext, that as the Revolution was brought about to obtain certain Ends, and that great Event not answering the Ends proposed, they had the same Right now which the old Revolutioners had, to make another Change, in order to obtain that Happiness which the others fail'd in.

This is perhaps the most rational and constitutional Argument, which can be advanced in Justification of this, or any other Commotion, was it founded upon true and just Premisses; but he must be wilfully blind, that can not see, that there is not the least Ground for any Argument founded on such an Hypothesis.

The Revolution, was brought about to
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secure our Religion, which was apparently in Danger, and to secure our Liberty and Property, which was visibly encroached upon, by *James* the Second. How far it has answered the End, I mean in *Scotland*, is as clear as the Sun-shine. Till that happy Event down from the Reformation, the *Scotch* cannot say, that they ever enjoyed their Religion undisturbed, for ten Years together; there was a constant War between them and the episcopal Clergy, each persecuting one another in their Turns as they differently prevailed at Court. The Persecuted in these Days were not only restrain'd from publick Service in their own Way, but suffered in their Lives, their Persons and Estates, meerly for the Sake of Religion, and holding Tenets differing from those in Fashion at Court: Whereas upon the Revolution, the *Kirk of Scotland* found itself established, upon a lasting and firm Basis, and above the Malice of all its Enemies; and has peaceably enjoyed these Privileges, ever since, without

without any one Attempt to encroach upon them.

Thus the Revolution answered all the Ends proposed in Favour of Religion; and with regard to Civil Liberty and Property, I think it impossible to find a Period of Time in the *Scotch* Annals, where the Nation has been so happy in that Respect, as they have been since the Revolution, but especially since the Accession of the present Royal Family: There cannot be so much as one Instance given, of even any Legal Severity, used against the Person, or private Property of any one Subject of that Kingdom, much less of any Acts of meer Power or Oppression, as was practised in late Reigns. There has been more Blood-Shed in ten Years of former Reigns, and that of illegal Blood-shed, than in the whole Period since the Year Eighty-eight 'till this Day.

If this is incontestably the Truth, who can fancy to himself, that the Ends proposed by the Revolution have not been amply

ply answered, even beyond our most sanguine Wishes at the Time it was brought about: Our Happiness in that Case has been so compleat, that all *Europe* must say that the *Scotch* are grown weary of Peace, Liberty and Plenty, if they continue to attempt a Change of their present Constitution. . Their Fore-fathers always drew their Swords to protect themselves from the Encroachments of their Ambitious Princes, and to secure to their Posterity the inestimable Blessings of Peace and Liberty; whereas the present Generation, have drawn their Swords to rid themselves of these very Blessings, and court in Exchange Poverty, Slavery, and all the Miseries of Despotic Power.

Thus it will appear to every unprejudiced Reader, that the Affection professed by the rebellious Part of *Scotland* for the House of *Stewart*, is founded upon no rational Principles; that they can neither be prompted to the present Rebellion, by the Consideration of the In-

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justice of those Principles, upon which the happy Revolution was founded ; nor from any Disappointment in their Expectations from that great Event ; and that they cannot flatter themselves with the least Prospect of Happiness under the *Pretender*, either from the Behaviour of his Predecessors, or any Knowledge they have of his own Dispositions. On the contrary, all these Considerations concur strongly to strengthen their Loyalty, and animate their Zeal for the illustrious Family who now happily possess the Throne.

But let us suppose, that these Men should succeed in their mad Enterprize, obtain their Wishes, and settle their Idol on the Throne of *Scotland* ; what must be the inevitable Consequence ?

In the first Place, they reserve to themselves, not the least Pretence to Liberty ; they Establish his Right upon the Foundation of *Divine indefeasible Hereditary Right, Passive Obedience, and*
Non

Non-Resistance. What Claim have they then to call any thing their own, however Sacred, if it should please the Sovereign and the Courtiers, to call them theirs? their Parliaments must be like the Parliaments of *Spain* or that of *Paris*, only Courts to Record the Arbitrary Decrees of an absolute Sovereign: Their Law Books and Courts of Justice must become useless, since the Words of the King becomes the Voice of God.

The Establishment of your Religion, for which our Fore-fathers shed their Blood, and which was procured at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, becomes absolutely unhinged; and of Course, if Popery is not establish'd, *Episcopacy* must take Place: The Bishops resume their Sees, and erect once more their dreadful Spiritual-Courts; the Laity must no longer intermeddle in the Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs, must become Slaves to the Clergy, who can fetter them at Pleasure, by the Force of terrible Anathemas and Excommunications,

tions, which must again have all their dreadful civil Effects. The Gentry must give up that Part of the Revenue of the Church, which they now enjoy, to pamper the Spiritual Pride of these Holy Fathers; and the now Reverend Clergy must starve, because they cannot comply with the new Reform,

Add to this; Protestants of all Denominations, will be play'd off one against another, in order to weaken their Hands against the common Enemy the Church of *Rome*; which must of Course be the Court Religion. What a dreadful Scene then must your Success be attended with? you have now an establish'd Religion; you have now a Property in your Estates, and something you can call your own, which you hold by the Laws of the Land; whereas then, you must hold your Religion, your Property, your Liberty, by no better Tenure than meer Courtesy, and that the Courtesy of your avowed Enemies the Priests of the Church of *Rome*. Add to these

these Things, that you must bear all this without so much as the Pleasure to complain; nor indeed can you with Justice, since by your present Measures, you acknowledge that he has not only a Right flowing from your own Concessions, but a Divine Legation to be your Hereditary Tyrant.

But let us suppose this only the dark and dismal Side of the Prospect, suggested by our Fears, and let us fancy that he Consents to have his divine Right so hedged in by Laws, as that it shall not run away with your All at once; and that he has been graciously pleased, to Promise you, (I think he can gave you no more than a frail Promise,) that your Religion shall be preserved as by Law establish'd, and that the Laws relating to civil Property, shall not be altered, but allow'd to have their full Force, and that he will govern you by Consent of Parliament, and prove a better King than any of his Forefathers. Let us suppose this, I say, and what

what is harder to suppose, that you believe him ; and that Providence permits you so far to succeed, as to get the better of the well affected : You have now then dissolved the Union of the two Kingdoms, and are solemnly met in a Convention, have obtained your Claim of Right establish'd into a Law, for I suppose that must not be forgot ; and that you are once more erected into an Independent Kingdom ; let us examine what must be the Consequence of this great Change ?

That Minute your Monarchy takes its Birth, you find yourselves engaged in a War, for the Recovery of the Remainder of your new King's Dominions ; a War with a Potent Nation, who has at least five times the Number of People, and whose Riches, surpass you beyond all Proportion ; a People tenacious of their Liberties, and naturally jealous of your Nation ; from whence then can you hope to succeed ? or how is it possible for you to imagine that you must not at last be overpowered by Strength of Men and Money.

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You are likewise to consider, that there are a great Number of your own Nobility, who have great Estates and Dependances in *England*; which must divide you amongst yourselves, and prevent your uniting your whole Strength in the intended Conquest.

The History of *Scotland*, must convince all wise Men, that the *Scotch* Nation never got any Thing by invading *England*, when it was ten Times in a worse Condition than at present: All that we can boast of is, that we preserved our own Liberty; and considering the Difference of the two Countries, and Numbers of People, that was a Glory sufficient to gratify the Ambition of the proudest *Scot* of us all — But now *England* has encreased in Number of People, Riches and a Naval Force, to which their Forefathers were Strangers; whereas *Scotland* has made no such Improvement, I mean in Proportion; on the Contrary all things considered, especially the Alteration of Times,

Times, we are rather in a worse Condition to live Independant than ever we were.

I confess these are unwelcome and unpopular Topicks for a *Scotch* Ear, but they are undoubtedly true, and it would be a barbarous Injustice to the Nation to conceal them. Not to mention the Misfortunes that naturally attend War, it is now proper to consider what Condition you are in to support a War of this kind, into which you are inevitably plunged, if you continue obstinate in your present Measures.

In the first Place, you have no Ally in *Europe*, except the *French* King, whom you can flatter yourselves, will assist you, with either Men or Money, and I take it to be evident to the least discerning amongst us; that it is not for the *French* King to give you any effectual Assistance, that is, it is not his Interest to make the King of *Scotland* King of *England* independant of himself; he knows was that the Case, that there

there was more than a probable Chance, that he might be induced to turn his Enemy, notwithstanding all former Favours. For that Politic People cannot be ignorant, that a King pursuing the true Interest of *Britain*, must still be an Enemy to *France*; and that there is no Dependence on the Faith of the Crown'd Heads, longer than they are bound by Interest.

It is certainly the apparent Interest of *France*, to divide this Island once more, to play the *North* and *South* Winds one against another, until they are both so weaken'd that they may become an easy Prey to him, or at least disabled from interrupting any of his Views upon the Continent: If this is the Case, then all you can expect of *France*, is, that for some short Time he may enable you to hold out against the Power of *England*, but never will give you, was he capable, such Assistance, as would enable you to set your King upon the Throne.

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That Event, (which God long prevent) must be brought about by *Englishmen* themselves; and what are the reasonable Views you can have of any Assistance from hence? None in Nature. I'll grant that there are a good Number of Grumblers in the Kingdom, and I never heard of a State without them, and there has been great Pains taken, to encrease these Discontents, but what are the Nature of them? Nothing like Disaffection to his Majesty or his Family; far from it, they proceed, from the natural Freedom of the Constitution, that gives all Men a free Right to deliberate upon Matters of State with Impunity. Thus the whole Nation, from the Prime Minister, down to the Cocker, are all Politicians; they argue freely upon Matters of the highest Importance, and over their Bottle at the Alehouse dictate to the Council at St. James's. Amidst such a Number of Statesmen, is it any Wonder to find them differ in Opinions? they not only differ with the Ministry, but are highly displeased, that the Determinations

Determinations at the Bar of the Beer-House, is not followed by the less-knowing Statesman at the Cock-Pit. This is perhaps the Sum of all the Discontent, of the Generality of the Discontented. Yet I do not deny but there are some others, who are discontented upon serious Grounds; but all of them carry their Grudge no higher than the Ministry, and are always satisfied, where one or other of them is sacrificed to their Glammours; the wiser Sort of these Men are Revolutioners by principle, and consequently from them, it is impossible you can expect any Manner of Aid.

That there are some few disaffected in *England*, I believe no Body will contravert. But I take it that their Numbers are much less than they have been represented to the Leaders of this Rebellion; but whatever their Numbers may amount to, upon serious Consideration, you will find them very improper to be rely'd upon; the *Jacobites* all over *England* you will find, to be good honest hearty Fellows;

who love their Bottle and their Friend, they pride themselves, in being thought Friends to the Pretender ; they drink his Health, curse the King, and are constant Enemies to the Ministry at Elections and on other such Occasions ; but I am afraid, they hate fighting, and will not willingly risk an Inch of their Estates to serve the Cause.

This Character I have drawn from their Behaviour on all Occasions, that they ever had an Opportunity to show themselves. You find that in all Attempts which the *Scotch* made, they were never seconded by their *Tory Friends*, and such Opportunities as they had themselves, they foolishly miss'd ; particularly that dangerous Time at the Queen's Death, when they had every Thing prepared and modelled for their Enterprize, yet they slipped the Opportunity (happily for the Nation) by meer Cowardice. For its well known, that had they had but the smallest Share of Resolution, at that Time, Things were in such a Situation, it was more than probable,

bable, they might have succeeded; I hope such another Period will never happen, or if it does, that it shall be play'd away by such Gamesters. Their Promises and Hopes were high in the Year fifteen, yet how did it end? but a Handful joined you, and those few, betrayed you. Methinks the Affair of *Preston*, and the Faith of *English* Rebels at that Time, should make such strong Impressions, upon every *Scotchman's* Mind, as to determine him never to set Foot on *English* Ground upon such an Errand, without a Power independant of his Tory Allies.

Thus Experience must have taught my Countrymen that there is no Dependance on their *Jacobite* Friends here. And if we consider the Disposition of the *English* Nation in General, they will find still less Reason to depend on any Assistance from that Quarter. Its the Temper of that People, to remain Loyal to the reigning Prince, as long as he governs them by the Laws of the Land, however weak his Title to the Crown may be. I think

I am justified in this Observation, by the Histories of all their Revolutions, since the Conquest, down to the present Time; for upon perusal of their History, we shall find there never was any Revolution took Place, meerly on Account of the Weakness of the Title of the Reigning Prince. In the several Disputes between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, 'tis apparent, that either of these Princes might have continued peaceably in Possession of the Crown, had they not given a Handle to their Enemies to distress them, by their Encroachments on the Liberties of the People, which went a greater Length to dethrone them than any Want of Title: And there is another thing remarkable in their Temper, that tho' they are jealous of their Liberties, yet they are seldom alarmed at remote Consequences, they must see the Danger immediately at Hand, nay they must sensibly feel the Weight of Oppression, before their Loyalty can be shaken, or they can be brought to Acts of Rebellion.

Now

Now it happens that this Disposition of theirs, is entirely against all Attempts of yours, especially where a Circumstance that can alarm their Fears, and awaken their Spirit of Liberty, concurs to perswade them to oppose all your Measures in favour of the House of *Stewart*.

They are perfectly happy in the Enjoyment of every constitutional Blessing, under his present Majesty; when you enter their Country in your independant Capacity they see not by remote Conjectures, but present and necessary Consequences, that every thing they hold valuable must vanish: You come to force a King upon them, of a Religion diametrically opposite to their Constitution; claiming to reign over them by a Title which debars them from the least Hopes of Liberty under his Government: And you yourselves laying a Claim to their Trade and Commerce, which you have not the smallest Title to, the Moment you become a distinct Kingdom. Are not these Considerations, sufficient to awaken every honest *Englishman*, and to
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arm him with Resolution, to die fighting for his All, rather than tamely submit. The stronger, you yourselves are impressed with Notions of Liberty, the better you will form an Idea of their Disposition on that Occasion, unless you are weak enough to imagine, that a Spirit of Independancy, reigns only in the Mountains of *Scotland*.

Thus I must conclude, that you must stand single in the Question, without the Hopes of any considerable Assistance from *England*. Was your Country capable, to produce Men enough to answer your Ends, yet where have you Money to support them? the Revenues of *Scotland*, are absolutely incapable to support a War against *England*, or indeed against any other State on Earth. This is a Fact so clear that it requires no Proof: It is like a self-evident Truth in Mathematics. But we shall suppose your Ally the *French* King supplies you, what is the Consequence? That you are entirely at his Mercy, to give you up to the
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Resentment of a justly incensed Government, whenever he thinks it his Interest so to do, (and that's an Event not absolutely impossible :) but we shall again suppose that he does not, and that you so far prevail as to enjoy your own Kingdom in Peace. Will it not then follow, That you must pay that Debt to your Ally, contracted in the War, with all his Claims upon your King, for his Advances during his Exile? And I'll venture to affirm, that all these Claims, will amount to a Sum, the Interest of which, the current Revenue of *Scotland* will not be able to pay. How then will that Kingdom be able to pay double the Taxes which it now pays?

You already complain of the Heaviness of the Taxes, but when you are a distinct Kingdom the Taxes high as they are, will not be sufficient to defray the common Charges of your Establishment. I value the present Revenue of *Scotland*, at 2500 *ol.* which I believe is rather over than under the Mark; I think it will require but small Knowledge in Calculation to find out that

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this is but a Trifle to support the Dignity of a great and antient Kingdom.

Let us suppose the Kingdom in profound Peace; common Prudence will direct you, as your Neighbour keeps a Land Force, to keep up something in Proportion; the least we can suppose, is five thousand Foot, and two Thousand Horse or Dragoons, and in Order to protect your Trade, we shall suppose you obliged to keep only ten small Ships of War, of twenty or thirty Guns each: These with the Expences of a Civil List, Charge of Publick Embassies, secret Service Money, and other Contingencies of Government, you will find to exceed your Revenue considerably: I have thrown a small Abstract of these Articles together, by which you will see at one View, how incapable you are to support the Charges of an independent State in Time of Peace, much less in time of War.

Charge

Charge of five thousand Foot with their General and Staff Officers and Contingencies, amount to about	1.	100000
Charge of two thousand Dra- goons, Staff Officers and Con- tingencies, amounts to		90000
Charge of ten twenty Gun Ships, 150 Men each at four Pound a Month <i>per</i> Man, that being the Sum allotted by Parlia- ment, amounts to		156000
Charge of the Garrisons,		10000
Embassies,		10000
Secret Service or Intelligence Money.		20000
Civil List at the most moderate Computation for supporting the Dignity of a <i>Scotch</i> King,		100000
		486000

To make up this Revenue, your Prince must become a Pensioner to some foreign Potentate, whose Tool he must be; and you have not many to make choice of. If *France* does not keep you in Pay, there

is no other Prince in *Europe* who has any Interests which you can serve; and he has no Service for you, but to help him to weaken the Island in general, which no wise Prince will care to be necessary to: But your Sovereign either must be that Tool, or must burthen his People beyond what they can bear; for I fancy every Man will acknowledge that even now, when the Nation is in a more flourishing Condition, with regard to Commerce, than ever it was before, it is not able to raise one single Shilling more Taxes than it does at present.

If this is the Case, what Happiness can you enjoy by being a free State, since your Poverty, must inevitably make you the dependant Tools of another Prince, a Stranger both to your Religion and Language? Consider what you enjoy at present, the Benefit of a large and extensive Traffick, of which you have not the smallest Probability, to retain any Part: Your Plantation Trade must fall of course, and every Person dependant on that Branch must

must starve, which is a very considerable Number of People in all Parts of the Kingdom, but especially at *Edinburgh, Glasgow*, and the other Towns in the West; then your Trade with *England* ceases which employs all your Manufactures, and takes off the chief of your Produce. Let us make a short Estimate of your *Hopes* this Way.

You generally send to <i>England</i>	} . l.
and her Colonies about two	
Million of Yards of Linnen,	
Handkerchiefs, Plaids, and	
other wove Goods, for which	
you have no other Market;	
and these I shall value one	} 150000
Yard with another at Eight-	
teen Pence per Yard, the Sum	
is	

You may send annually into	} 100000
<i>England</i> about fifty thousand	
Head of black Cattle, it has	
not been much less than that	
since the Union, for which	
is at least returned,	

250000
There

	l.
Brought over	250000
There is employ'd in the Plan- tation Trade, at least fifty Sail of Shipping, which may return for Freight, and the Produce carried out,	60000
Total	310000

Thus, here is above three hundred Thousand Pound, which the Nation must infallibly lose; you have no Market for your Linnens in any Part of Europe, and cannot wear them yourselves; therefore any Person concern'd in that Branch, from the Farmer who raises the Flax, to the Exporter, must suffer and most of them starve. Your Ally the *French* King, will not allow you to trade to his Plantations, therefore all concern'd in that Trade must be beggar'd. Your Black Cattle is consumed no where but in *England*, and they can very well live without them: You are in that Situation upon a worse Footing than the *Irish*;

Irish ; they can export their Beef, but yours is so small, that its impossible to make it bear Salt, by which means the Price of your Cattle must fall to their old Price of ten or twelve Shillings a Head. This must ruin every Man in the Highlands and Breeding Countries of *Scotland*, and reduce the Landlord's Rents to less than one Half of what they are at present, since they wholly depend on their Cattle. I can remember within these five and twenty Years, that every Estate in the Highlands, has more than doubled their Rents, only from the great Rise which the Union gave to the Price of Cattle: And this Loss, they are now less able to bear than formerly, because they have got into a much more expensive Way of Living, both in Diet, Cloathing, Houses, and Household-Furniture. The People are more numerous, and all of them eat twice the Quantity of Bread they used to do: In this very Article, to my Knowledge, in one Shire, they now import twenty thousand Bolls of Grain annually, more than they used to do, notwithstanding their

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Improvement in Agriculture. When their Cattle comes to be reduced to the old Price, how must either Landlord or Tenant live?

This Difference in the manner of Living, is still more conspicuous in the Low Countries of *Scotland*, which only could be supported by their Commerce and Increase in their Manufacture, which must necessarily make the Decay of these much more sensibly felt, if not render it quite insupportable.

In former Times, my Countrymen lived sparingly, and contented themselves with the simple Product of their own Country; whereas, now, they are accustomed to all the Delicacy of more Southern Climates: Our Great Grandmothers cloathed themselves in Stuffs of their own Manufacture, fabricated mostly in their own Families; whereas now we find Persons of the lowest Quality, dressed in the richest Brocades, shining with Gold and Silver, and loaded as it were with Jewels.

Jewels. Our Tables are now covered with Variety of Dishes, season'd with all the Spices of the *East*, and the richest of *French* Wines are our common Beverage. The very Article of 'Tea and Sugar of a private Family now-a-days, would supply our Fore-fathers with all the Necessaries of Life in decent Plenty. This is the Fruits of our Commerce and Manufactures.—What must be the Case when these are taken from us? We must necessarily return to our old abstemious Way of Living.—We must content ourselves with the Fare of an Anchoret, with all the Appetites of an Epicure.

These are the Blessings which must attend you, when you have got a King; which Providence may happen to give you, as he gave to the *Jews* a King in his Wrath. Will the Pageantry of a Court without Revenues, feed the industrious Tradesman? Or will the Lustre of your old Crown, clouded with Poverty, give Bread to the starving Labourer?

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But let me go all the Lengths your vain Wishes can suggest to you, that is, that Providence permits you, for the Punishment of the Land, to set your Hero on the Crown of *England*, and that you still preserve your Kingdom in the Clouds, what is the Consequence then? Every thing you complain'd of, from the Time of *James* the First, 'till the *Union*, will again recur. Instead of being Part of a Great and Free People, you become a Province.—Your King must reside here, and he must govern you by *English* Councils, and *English* Maxims; and a capital one of these must certainly be, to keep you poor. Your Nobility will again be bribed by *English* Money, to give away the very Name of Liberty; and you may find yourselves one Day incorporated under more disadvantageous Terms, than you at present can think of.

Thus I have turned your Case into all the possible Shapes that it can be figur'd in; and upon the whole, I can find no-

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thing but Madness and Folly for your Motives; Slavery, Beggary, and Poverty in the Consequences. In short, you are now in that unhappy Dilemma, if you are defeated, a Halter is the Portion of many: But, if you succeed, your Religion is shipwreck'd; your Liberty must vanish, and Poverty, in all its Shapes, be the Inheritance of your latest Posterity.

I hope, then, these Considerations duly weighed, will influence every honest Man in *Scotland*, to exert himself on this Occasion, in Support of his Majesty's Title and Dignity, and to force the Rebels to a Sense of their Duty and Interest. But, if before that Time, a Convention is call'd by the Usurping Regent, I hope the first Act of theirs, will be to banish him to his Native *Rome*, the common Highlanders to their Native Mountains, and to bestow a Halter upon each of their Leaders. That done, let them recognize his present Majesty, and intercede

tercede for a Pardon for the vulgar Rebels : This would be acting like a *Scotch* Convention, sensible of the true Interest of their Country, and the only Measures that would justify such a Meeting. I am,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

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Your Countryman.

